

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NICOSI 01175 300114Z  
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5775

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1175

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CY  
SUBJECT: THE SUCCESSION TO MAKARIOS: CLERIDES' VIEW

REF: NICOSIA 1127

1. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION AT DINNER APR 28, CLERIDES CONFIRMED THAT HIS RECENT STATEMENTS AND PARTY ACTIVITIES REPRESENT THE OPENING OF A CONSIDERED CAMPAIGN TO BOOST HIS CREDENTIALS AS SUCCESSOR TO MAKARIOS. CLERIDES SAID THAT MAKARIOS WILL HAVE NO PROBLEM IN ARRANGING THE SUCCESSION. AS OF NOW, WITH HOPES OF BEING PHYSICALLY ABLE TO CONTINUE IN POWER, AND STRONGLY OPPOSED TO POLITICAL COMPETITION OF ANY SORT, THE ARCHBISHOP WOULD ENDORSE PASCALIS PASCALIDES (MANAGING DIRECTOR OF HELLENIC MINES). HOWEVER, IF NEARER THE THRESHOLD OF HAVING TO GIVE UP ACTIVITY HE MIGHT CHANGE HIS MIND.

2. CLERIDES SAID THAT IN THE LONG RUN THREE THINGS MIGHT COUNT IN HIS (CLERIDES'S) FAVOR. FIRST, HE HAD AN HISTORICAL RECORD OF LOYALTY. HE HAD NEVER PUBLICALLY ATTACKED ANYTHING THE ARCH-BISHOP HAD DONE. (NOT QUITE TRUE.) SECOND, HE HAD NEVER BEEN VINDICTIVE NOR SOUGHT REPRISAL AGAINST THE MEMBERS OF MAKARIOS' INNER CIRCLE, NO MATTER HOW UNSAVORY THEIR ACTIONS. THIRD, MAKARIOS KNEW THAT, AS PRESIDENT, HE WOULD ENSURE RESPECT FOR THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE CHURCH AND ITS PROPERTY.

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3. CLERIDES WENT ON TO OUTLINE HIS PLANS FOR REVAMPING HIS PARTY WITH ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS, REGIONAL AND YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. HE ALSO REFERRED TO CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS TO ADD DEMOKRATIKO VIMA TO THE LIST OF NEWSPAPERS (ALITHIA AND SIMERINI) SUPPORTING HIM. IN THIS CONNECTIONS HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD LOST TO PAPADOPOULOS THE SUPPORT OF (FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER)

KOSHIS AND THE LATTER'S NEWSPAPER AGHON. HE WOULD MISS KOSHIS' ABILITIES IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION BUT FELT HE COULD STILL COUNT ON THE SERVICES OF TWO OF KOSHIS' BEST POLITICAL LIEUTENANTS.

4. COMMENT: CLERIDES' REMARKS PROVIDE IMPORTANT CONFIRMATION OF MAKARIOS' INTENTIONS REGARDING A SUCCESSOR. FROM OTHER SOURCES, WE HAD HEARD THAT, FOLLOWING HIS APRIL 3 HEART ATTACK, MAKARIOS HAD ASKED PASCALIDES TO BE READY TO STEP IN AT ONCE IF HE SHOULD NOT SURVIVE.

5. FOR SEVERAL YEARS THE EMBASSY HAS BELIEVED THAT PACALIDES, SOMEWHAT OF A DARK HORSE IN A POLITICAL SENSE, WOULD PROBABLY BE MAKARIOS' CHOICE AS SUCCESSOR. PASCALIDES WAS VIRTUAL "DIRECTOR DE CABINET" TO MAKARIOS' DURING THE EOKA STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. AFTER INDEPENDENCE, AT MAKARIOS' REQUEST, HE TOOK OVER MANAGEMENT OF HELLENIC MINES, WHICH HAS BECOME THE LARGEST CORPORATE ENTITY IN CYPRUS AND WHICH WE SUSPECT OF BEING A HOLDING COMPANY FOR THE ARCHBISHOP'S NON-CHURCH FINANCIAL INTERESTS. PASCALIDES IS RECOGNIZED AS A HIGHLY COMPETENT, MODERN MANAGER. HE HAS SHREWD POLITICAL JUDGEMENT. WHILE FUNDAMENTALLY AND STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST AND CONSERVATIVE, HE HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED OVERT POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP AND IS THUS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL FACTIONS. HIS PRINCIPAL LIABILITY, IN PRESIDENTIAL TERMS, IS DANGEROUSLY HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, WHICH COULD PRECLUDE HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENCY. END COMMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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